Report Lenin Secretary Survived Stalin Purge

Could Tell How Lenin Sought to 'Bombshell' Foe

One of Lenin's personal secretaries, L. A. Fotieva, who collaborated with the founder of the Soviet Union just before his death when he was preparing a showdown struggle with Stalin, has been reported by Pravda to be still alive. The Moscow newspaper recently included her name in a list of surviving old Bolsheviks The information appeared in this country in the April 3 New York Times.

This sensational news is the first that has been heard of Fotieva in many years. When her name was not included in the 1947 list of old Bolsheviks, it was assumed that she had perished in Stalin's monstrous purges.

Fotieva was one of the two secretaries sent to Trotsky by Lenin — just two days before he suffered his third stroke — with materials for use against Stalin at the forthcoming Twelfth Congress. In view of his worsening illness, Lenin had already asked Trotsky to see the struggle through. These materials were to help in any way possible although some were in unfinished form. Even as he faced death, Lenin was desperately concerned about the success of the struggle against Stalin.

"He told me," Glyasser, the other secretary, said to Trotsky, "to transmit to you the manuscript material which was supposed to have made up his bombshell for the Twelfth Congress."

When Trotsky asked whether Lenin had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to "compromise with Stalin even along correct lines," Fotieva replied:

"Yes, Ilyich does not trust Stalin. He wants to come out openly against him before the whole Party." And she confirmed what Glyasser had said. "He is preparing a bombshell."

Fotieva further explained Lenin's latest actions by telling Trotsky that "Vladimir Ilyich is feeling worse and is in a hurry to do everything he can."

Among the materials left by Lenin for use in the struggle against Stalin, the most famous today is the last testament. (See full text below.)

Fotieva could now tell how Lenin came to write this important document: why Lenin decided to break off all comradely relations with Stalin; and why Lenin asked Trotsky to join him in war against the sinister leader of the rising bureaucratic usurpers.

Stalin's heirs are now using at least part of Lenin's last testament in attacking the "Stalin cult." It is clear that Fotieva could prove useful to them in this by explaining the origin of the testament and verifying the truth about Lenin's real attitude toward Stalin.

Fotieva could also verify the truth about Lenin's bloc with Trotsky against Stalin. This is the kind of testimony that should be heard by an impartial Inquiry Commission, as proposed to the Communist Party by the Socialist Workers Party.

THE MILITANT

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100 Station Wagons Needed To Help Alabama Bus Fight

Text of Lenin's Last Testament

The following is the full text of Lenin's Testament:

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in **Russkaya Mysl** (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between those classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability — from this point of view — is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted, in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary,

(Continued on page 3)

Philadelphia UE Strikers Remain Firm

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, April 9 — The 177-day strike of local 107, United Electrical Workers Union (independent) against the Westinghouse Corp. at Lester, Pa., remains solid despite all efforts of the company and its capitalist allies to smash the strikers' resistance.

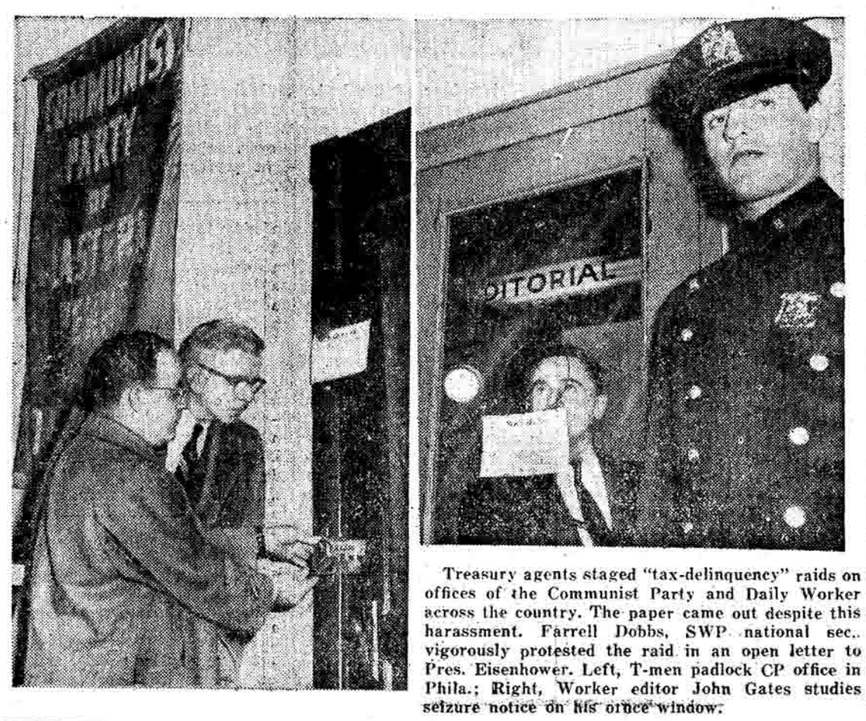
Local 107 remained on strike after the national UE agreement with Westinghouse on March 28 because the company insisted on "re-arranging" the wage structure at its Lester plant. The "re-arrangement" was actually a proposal that the strikers first accept a 20% pay cut before the national agreement offering an estimated 3% yearly wage increase went into effect.

Since the national settlement, Westinghouse has conducted an unsuccessful campaign to isolate the Lester strike and force local 107 to accept its unreasonable demands. It is attempting to reopen the plant by sending carloads of scabbing engineers through the picket lines. The union's strike bulletin charges that the Corporation is organizing its foremen to launch a back-to-work movement by visiting strikers homes and begging them to return. In addition the company has filed a suit protesting a ruling made by the state Department of Labor and Industry that for eight weeks the Lester strike was actually a company lockout. This ruling entitled the strikers to collect unemployment compensation checks for that period.

Two weeks ago Westinghouse's capitalist allies came to its support. Some 70 companies, including such giant corporations as Ford, General Electric, U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, etc., demonstrated that they had a stake in breaking the Westinghouse strike by filing a similar protest.

Despite this union busting attack, local 107 continues its militant strike and has rallied support from important sections of the AFL-CIO in the area, including financial aid from rival IUE local 601.

T-Men Raid Daily Worker and CP Offices



Treasury agents staged "tax-delinquency" raids on offices of the Communist Party and Daily Worker across the country. The paper came out despite this harassment. Farrell Dobbs, SWP national sec., vigorously protested the raid in an open letter to Pres. Eisenhower. Left, T-men padlock CP office in Phila.; Right, Worker editor John Gates studies seizure notice on his office window.

Ceylon Trotskyists Win Big Victory in Election

By John Thayer

A smashing election defeat has not only sent Ceylon's capitalist class reeling but has brought consternation to the U.S. State Department. In three days of voting the people of that Southeast Asian country repudiated the U.S.-backed government of Sir John Kotelawala and put into office a neutralist reform coalition pledged to nationalizations of foreign-owned tea and rubber plantations and to a break with Anglo-American foreign policy. So decisively was the ruling United National Party defeated that it now does not even occupy the place of Ceylon's second most important party.

The second highest number of seats in parliament was won by the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, which thereby becomes the country's official opposition party.

ELECTION RESULTS

Results of the polling for the 95 seats in Ceylon's House of Representatives were as follows: United People's Front, 51; Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 14; Federal Party, 10; United National Party 8; Communist Party, 3; Tamil Party, 1; Independents, 8.

Leader of the United Peoples Front, which won the election and will form the new cabinet, is Solomon Bandaranaike, a wealthy landowner and intellectual, who campaigned on a platform of making Sinhalese the only official language, elimination of British air and naval bases on Ceylon establishing relations with the Soviet Union and China, making Ceylon a Republic and possibly taking it out of the British Commonwealth, and nationalization of foreign-owned plantations.

The United Peoples Front is composed of three groups plus individual politicians who jumped on the bandwagon. First and most important is Bandaranaike's own party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which has been the second largest party in parliament and therefore the official opposition party. This is a capitalist party like Nehru's Congress Party in India. It is nationalist and neutralist. Its chauvinism toward Ceylon's Tamil minority was shown by its "Sinhalese-only" language plank.

Second element in the United

(Continued on page 2)

Dobbs Urges Unions To Respond to Appeal By Opening Up Purses

It will take 100 station wagons to operate an effective transportation system for the Negro people in Montgomery, according to Rev. M. L. King, leader of the bus protest movement in that city.

In an interview with a staff writer for the weekly Afro-American, the Rev. Mr. King disclosed that the Montgomery Improvement Association had applied for a "jitney service" franchise. In answer to a query by the Afro-American reporter, the Rev. Mr. King, president of the MIA, said:

"We were turned down and plan to apply again. If the franchise is not granted, perhaps we will run a free jitney service.

"I think that we could do with about 100 station wagons. We could operate the free transporation system through contributions in our churches."

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, now on tour in support of the bus protest movement, is emphasizing the need for station wagons to build the Montgomery car pool. He is calling on union members and leaders to express their support in the form of collections to buy station wagons for the freedom fighters of Montgomery.

At his first public meeting in Detroit, sponsored by the SWP, a committee was established to raise funds for the purchase of one or more station wagons for Montgomery.

GOP Baits Campaign Hook For Negro Votes

By George Lavan

In a cynical election-year maneuver to further discredit the Democrats and to lure Negro voters to the Republican Party, the Eisenhower Administration sent three civil rights proposals to Congress.

Neither Eisenhower nor anybody else expects the bills to be passed—that isn't the point at all. They do expect, however, that the bills will put the Democrats on the spot. Northern Democrats will have to vote for or against them and either way they will be in trouble—with the Negro voters or with the Dixiecrat wing of their party.

On the other hand the Republicans figure that introduction of this civil rights "program" even at this late date—Congress is three-quarters over—will enable them to campaign as the

(Continued on page 4)

Do CP Leaders Really Wish to Expose Stalin?

NEW YORK, April 9 — At this writing no reply has been received by the Socialist Workers Party to its April 2 letter to the Communist Party of the U.S. proposing that both organizations join "in initiating a demand for the constitution of an impartial Commission of Inquiry into Stalin's purge trials within the Soviet Union and elsewhere."

The SWP letter cited an editorial in the Daily Worker condemning the "frame-up of Rajk and other Hungarian Communist leaders" as a "betrayal of the socialist movement" and asserting the "right to demand that the investigations in Hungary and the Soviet Union shall be full and complete and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice no matter how high their position was."

The frame-up and execution of Laszlo Rajk was part of a series of "confession" trials in Eastern Europe in 1949. Rajk, who was Hungarian foreign minister, "confessed" to having conspired with Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia. Recently, as part of the Kremlin's campaign repudiating the Stalin cult, Rajk was declared the victim of a frame-up by Hungarian Stalinist leader Matyas Rakosi.

The SWP letter pointed out that "any investigation carried out by those clearly associated with the imprisonment and execution of innocent persons would carry no weight with world working class opinion." It was therefore urged that "an impartial Commission of Inquiry composed of men and women of unquestioned integrity who command the confidence and respect of the world workers' movement" would be required "as a basic prerequisite of a 'full and complete' investigation."

This week another victim of the East European anti-Titoist purge, former deputy Premier of Bulgaria, Taicho Kostov, has been "rehabilitated." Kostov was executed in 1949 on the charge of high treason. Kostov's case was notable for the fact that he repudiated his "confession" in court. After he was hanged the Stalinist authorities announced that just before the rope was placed around his neck, he "admitted" his "crimes." Now the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has declared Kostov innocent.

The admission that the confessions of both Rajk and Kostov were monstrous frauds sharply poses the necessity of a review of the infamous Moscow "confession" trials of the Thirties. At these show trials virtually the whole leading staff of the Russian Revolution of 1917 were accused of "espionage," "sabotage," "terrorism" and "counter-revolutionary plotting," and were put to death on the evidence of their own 'confessions.' Leon Trotsky, who was later murdered by a Stalinist pick-axe assassin in his Mexico exile, was the chief target of these staged confession trials. Tens of thousands of revolutionary workers, who never came to trial, were imprisoned and executed.

The present Kremlin leaders, who were closely associated with Stalin in the perpetration of his crimes, want to limit their exposures to the absolute minimum. The proposal of the SWP for an impartial Commission of Inquiry with full power to review all the pertinent records is the only way to achieve a "full and complete" investigation as the Daily Worker editorial of April 2 demanded.

Why Lenin Asked Trotsky to Help Him Fight Stalin

[The following excerpts are from Leon Trotsky's autobiography, My Life, written in 1931, describing the events and conditions surrounding Lenin's writing of his "last testament." Lenin's testament is still suppressed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The full text is published in this issue of the Militant. —Ed.]

By LEON TROTSKY

In the interval between his first and second strokes, Lenin could work only half as much as before. Slight but none the less ominous warnings from his blood-vessels reached him off and on throughout this period. At one of the meetings of the Politbureau, as he got up to hand some one a note—Lenin always exchanged notes this way to speed up the work—he reeled a little. I noticed it only because his face changed expression instantly. This was one of many warnings from his vital centres.

Lenin had no illusions on this score. He kept pondering from all points of view how the work would go on without him, and after him. It must have been then that he formulated mentally the document that later became known as his "Will." And it was at this time—during the last weeks before his second stroke—that Lenin and I had a long conversation about my work in the future. Because of its political importance, I immediately repeated this conversation to a number of people (Rakovsky, I. N. Smirnov, Sosnovsky, Preobrazhensky, and others). If only because of this repetition, the conversation has been very clearly recorded in my memory.

It came about in this way. The central committee of the union of educational workers sent a delegation to Lenin and me with the request that I take over the commissariat of education in addition to my other duties, in the same way that I had taken charge of the commissariat of transport for a year past. Lenin wanted to know what I thought about it. I told him that in the educational field, as in every other, the difficulty would come from the administrative apparatus.

"Yes, our bureaucratism is something monstrous," Lenin replied, picking up my train of thought. "I was appalled when I came back to work . . . It is just because of this that you should not—or at least I think so—get drawn into any departmental work besides the military."

Lenin proceeded to state his plan with passionate conviction. He had a limited amount of strength to give to the work of direction. He had three deputies. "You know them. Kamenev is, of course, a clever politician, but what sort of an administrator is he? Tzyurupa is ill. Rykov is perhaps an administrator, but he will have to go back to the Supreme Economic Council. You must become a deputy. The situation is such that we must have a radical realignment of personnel."

"SHAKE UP APPARATUS"

Again I pointed out the "apparatus" that made even my work in the war department increasingly difficult. "Well, that will be your chance to shake up the apparatus," Lenin retorted quickly, hinting at an expression I had once used. I replied that I referred to the bureaucracy not only in the state institutions, but in the party as well; that the cause of all the trouble lay in the combination of the two apparatuses and in the mutual shielding among the influential groups that gathered round the hierarchy of party secretaries.

Lenin listened intently, and confirmed my suggestions in that deep tone which came straight from the chest, a tone that would break through in him only when, sure that the person he was talking to understood him completely, he would dispense with the conventionalities of conversation, and touch openly on what was the most important and disturbing.

After thinking it over for a moment, Lenin put the question pointblank: "You propose then to open fire not only against the state bureaucracy, but against the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee as well?" I couldn't help laughing, this came so unexpectedly. "That seems to be it." The Organizational Bureau meant the very heart of Stalin's apparatus.

"Oh, well," Lenin went on, obviously pleased that we had called the thing by its right name, "if that's the case, then I offer you a bloc against bureaucracy in general and against the Organizational Bureau in particular."

"With a good man, it is an honor to form a good bloc," I replied.

We agreed to meet again some time later. Lenin suggested that I think over the organization end of the question. He planned to create a commission attached to the Central Committee for fighting bureaucracy. We were both to be members. This commission was essentially to be the lever for breaking up the Stalin faction as the backbone of the bureaucracy, and for creating such conditions in the party as would allow me to become Lenin's deputy, and, as he intended, his successor to the post of chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaries.

LENIN'S WILL

Only in this connection does the full meaning of the so-called "Will" become clear. Lenin names only six people there, and sums them up briefly, weighing each word. Unquestionably, his object in making the will was to facilitate the work of direction for me. He naturally wanted to do it with the least possible amount of friction. He talks about every one most guardedly, softening the most devastating judgments. At the same time he qualifies with reservations the too definite indication of the one whom he thinks entitled to first place. Only in his analysis of Stalin does one feel a different tone, a tone which in the later postscript to the will is nothing short of annihilating.

Of Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin writes, with an effect of casualness, that their capitulation in 1917 was "not an accident"; in other words, it is in their blood. Obviously such men cannot direct the revolution, but they should not be reproached for their pasts. Bukharin is not a Marxist but a scholastic; he is, however, a sympathetic person. Pyatakov is an able administrator, but a very bad politician. It is quite possible, however, that these two, Bukharin and Pyatakov, will still learn. The ablest is Trotsky; his defect is his excess of self-confidence. Stalin is rude, disloyal, and capable of abuse of the power that he derives from the party apparatus. Stalin should be removed to avoid a split. This is the substance of the "Will." It rounds out and clarifies the proposal that Lenin made me in our last conversation.

LENIN AND STALIN

Lenin came to know Stalin really only after the October revolution. He valued his firmness and his practical mind, which is three-quarters cunning. And yet, at every step, Lenin struck at Stalin's ignorance, at his very narrow political horizon, and his exceptional moral coarseness and unscrupulousness.

Stalin was elected to the post of general secretary of the party against the will of Lenin, who acquiesced only so long as he himself headed the party. But after his first stroke, when he

(Continued on page 3)

The "Elements" Pravda Fears

By Tom Kerry

In an article bristling with denunciation of "rotten elements," Pravda, official organ of the Russian Communist Party castigated critics in the Soviet Union who presumed to go beyond the limits imposed by the Kremlin bureaucracy in the discussion organized to demolish the "Stalin cult." The April 5 issue of the paper lashed out in all directions showering derogatory epithets on those who sought to take advantage of the "discussion" to criticize party policy and leadership.

Cracking the bureaucratic whip, Pravda called for "Bolshevik martial irreconcilability toward these anti-party sallies." "The party organ," says a Moscow dispatch in the April 6 New York Times, "gave no indication of what had been said by the critics beyond accusing them of echoing 'hackneyed slanderous inventions of foreign reactionary propaganda.' "

The language of Pravda under Khrushchev is little different from that employed under the murderous Stalin regime. The language is similar but the situation is altogether different. Under Stalin, also, there were periodic campaigns of "criticism and self-criticism" usually terminating in a bloody purge and a reshuffling of the bureaucracy. Stalin always found convenient scapegoats for the crimes of the bureaucratic caste.

MOUNTING PRESSURE

The grinding repression and savage bloodletting under Stalin was not entirely the result of one man's personal aberration, as the present day Stalinists would have us believe. On the contrary. It was the reflex of a man who personified the bureaucratic Kremlin caste reacting like a barometer to the mounting pressure of the dissatisfied and discontented Soviet masses.

The death of Stalin, the tremendous industrial expansion of the Soviet Union with its concomittant increase in the size and social weight of the working class, the extension and strengthening of the Soviet bloc, the rise of the colonial revolution and the weakening of world imperialism, all brought increasing confidence and self-assurance to the Soviet masses.

The mass pressure for a radical change acquired explosive proportions. Stalin's very name was a curse and a malediction. As the personification of the bureaucracy he represented everything that was hated and reviled. Animated by the determination to preserve their power and privileges at all costs, the bureaucracy seized upon Stalin's mummified corpse as a scapegoat for their crimes. But there was no change in basic policy or method, and only a reluctant easing of the bureaucratic vise.

Concessions were made grudgingly and only under extreme compulsion. As under Stalin all decisions were "unanimous." Stalin was made fair game and open season was declared on the "Stalin cult." But the sacrosanct "general line" could be questioned only under pain of courting bureaucratic displeasure. The limits prescribed by the bureaucracy are circumscribed and fixed. Such is the "democratic" discussion in the Soviet Union as Khrushchev and Co. would have it.

TIDE OF DISCONTENT

However, the significant thing about the abusive Pravda article is not only that it accurately reflects the Stalinist mentality but that it also records the irresistible pressure to break through the arbitrary limits imposed by the bureaucracy. Having opened a crack in the top bureaucratic crust the parasitic Kremlin caste will be unable to stem the pent-up mass dissatisfaction boiling up from below.

One can surmise the nature and extent of the long-repressed grievances from comments appearing in the Stalinist press. Stalin was indicted for the frightful losses suffered in the late war with Soviet casualties estimated at forty million. Stalin was guilty of murdering thousands of innocent people. Stalin was responsible for the untold misery and repression visited upon the Soviet workers and peasants. All of which is true, but —

Even Stalinist stalwart, William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party, is constrained to report that "workers everywhere," are insistently demanding "to know what the present leadership, for the most part, who worked side-by-side with Stalin for many years," were doing when all of the listed crimes were committed. The answer is obvious. Side-by-side with Stalin they participated in perpetrating the most monstrous crimes in the annals of history.

"This frank discussion," writes the Moscow correspondent of the Daily Worker, March 25, now taking place in the Soviet Union, is "triumphant proof" that "after a lapse of 20 years, true democracy has been restored." Not quite! But having embarked on the road of struggle against the bureaucratic Kremlin gang we can be certain that before they stop "true democracy" really will be restored in the Soviet Union.

Reaction of the Fringe Stalinists To Moscow's Ending of the Cult

By Daniel Roberts

During the last several weeks The Militant has reported the reaction in the Stalinist press to the junking of the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union. On the fringes of the Stalinist movement there are groupings that proclaim themselves "independent socialists" although sympathetic to the CP. Their viewpoints are expressed in several publications including Monthly Review and The American Socialist. How do they react to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? How do they explain what happened? What do they propose socialist-minded workers should do to hasten the destruction of the Stalin cult?

The April Monthly Review greets the 20th Congress with utter silence. This is not to be wondered at. In junking the Stalin cult, the Kremlin bureaucrats were compelled to expose the frame-up character of a number of blood purges engineered by Stalin. This happens to place the Monthly Review editors — Huberman and Sweezy— in a highly embarrassing position. For they endorsed every one of the Stalin frame-ups from those in Moscow in the late 1930's — in which a whole revolutionary generation was destroyed — to the purge trials in Eastern Europe 1949-52, to the frame-up of the Soviet doctors in January 1953 on the eve of Stalin's death. They proclaimed all "confessions" genuine, although the Dewey International Commission of Inquiry had already exposed in 1937 the mechanism whereby false "confessions" have been extracted.

ON THE RECORD

Now Stalin's accomplices — the present Soviet rulers — say confessions in a number of trials were fake. The self-styled "independent" editors of Monthly Review have for the time being nothing more to say. As with their support of Stalin's frame-ups so with their adulation of Stalin. In 1953, echoing the pronouncements of the Stalin cult, Huberman and Sweezy stated, "There can be little doubt that history will . . . honor him as long as the human race survives." But even Stalin's heirs — let alone the human race — are now reviling him, and this only three years after his death.

Socialist-minded workers and youth in the Communist party or periphery who are making the end of the Stalin cult a starting point for serious examination of revolutionary politics have nothing to learn from the Monthly Review. These "independent socialists" know only how to tail-end the Kremlin line.

If Huberman and Sweezy are driven into temporary silence because of their previous overzealous promotion of the Stalin cult, not so the editors of the American Socialist. It is true that Cochran and his colleagues say nothing about their desertion from revolutionary socialism when they split in 1953 from the Socialist Workers Party. This included abandonment of revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. But happily for them their public reconciliation with Stalinism took place after Stalin died. There is nothing on the record tying them to the Stalin cult. They feel all the more free to snuggle up to the present Kremlin rulers and try to refurbish the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste.

The Cochranites preach confidence in Khrushchev, Bulganin and the rest of Stalin's former henchmen with a claim that they are in the process of carrying out a self-reform. The 20th Congress has sent them into ecstasy. "The Twentieth Congress represents the climactic point in the new leadership's attempt to revamp the archaic structure, to stabilize the post-Stalin regime on viable foundations, and modernize its workings all along the line in tune with the new problems and realities," they rhapsodize.

". . . With Russia's rise as the second industrial power, the harsh political regime is beginning to mellow . . . the trend is in the right direction . . Historically, the new regime has to be considered a transient stage toward the establishment of a full political democracy of socialism . . . When enough circumstance in the form of peoples understanding, high level of culture and economic advancement mature, the irrepressible desire for freedom will break through and demand satisfaction."

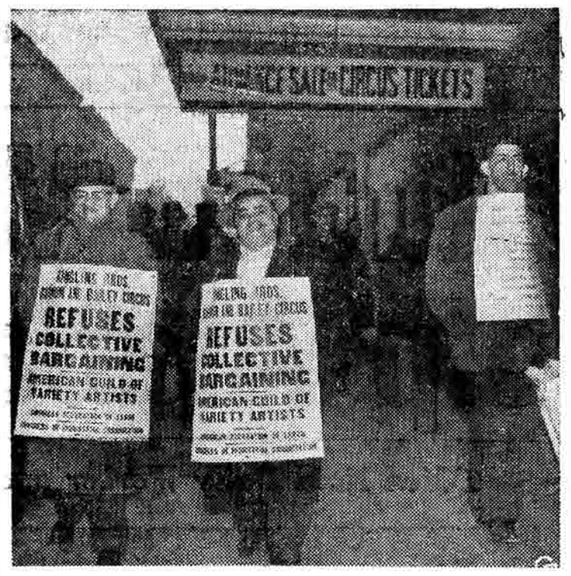
These words were no sooner uttered when the "mellowing" Kremlin overlords began to crack down on what they called "rotten elements" — namely, the Soviet masses — who are not satisfied with paper promises of democracy and a bureaucratically conducted liquidation of the Stalin cult but want genuine political freedom. (See article by Tom Kerry elsewhere in this issue.)

The Cochranites present an entirely perverted picture of the true relations between the Soviet masses and the bureaucracy. They present the Kremlin dictators as setting the pace in the transition to political democracy and the people as eventually catching up. But reality shows that it is the Soviet working people who are fed up with the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste. They are forcing the Kremlin to make concessions, which the bureaucrats hope will stave off its overthrow.

Revolutionary socialists have every reason to welcome the junking of the Stalin cult as an indication of the powerful stirring of the Soviet working class and as a harbinger of a political revolution. They do not flatter the cynical bureaucrats who seek to perpetuate the hated dictatorship, but make ever greater demands upon them. More exposures of frame-up trials! More rehabilitations of Stalin's victims including the chief victims, the Trotskyists! More economic concessions! Grant political liberty to all working class tendencies!

The revolutionary socialists believe in the regeneration of the Soviet Union and have struggled for it unwaveringly since the emergence of Stalin's bloody rule. But unlike the Cochranites and other apologists for Stalinism, they do not look to Stalin's heirs to accomplish the task. They rely solely on the revolutionary action of the Soviet and international working class.

Picket Circus



Members of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters and the American Guild of Variety Artists picket the Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey Circus outside Madison Square Garden in drive to organize circus employes. Injunction ordered pickets removed for the opening night performance of the show's one-month stand in New York.

General Strike In Spain

APRIL 11 — A general strike is in progress in the northern Spanish city of Pamplona, capital of the Navarre region. Thousands of workers are defying the Franco regime's labor laws which forbid them to strike.

According to today's New York Times, the Pamplona strike is spreading to other towns of the region. Furthermore, "it is expected that later today the main centers will have followed the Pamplona lead."

SHUT DOWN TIGHT

Everything in Pamplona is shut down tight. The strike began yesterday when several hundred workers in shoe factories quit in protest against a too meager wage increase granted by the government. In fascist Spain, the government regulates wages.

Then the strike spread to 35 other factories and industrial enterprises including a construction company employing 2,000 workers. Stores are closed down and transportation suspended services when bus conductors quit.

The present militancy of Spain's workers was clearly foreshadowed last August at a national labor congress. Even though handpicked by the government, the union leaders yielded to the pressure of the workers and voted demands for a minimum living wage, greater participation in profits and a voice in management policy. These demands have not been met by the government.

MOUNTING UNREST

Then on Jan. 1, Dictator Franco himself disclosed the mounting rebellion against his regime, when he devoted his entire New Year's message to the need for "national solidarity." He admitted that there was unrest among workers, students and intellectuals.

At Madrid University, last February, an independent slate of candidates won a crushing victory over the Falangists (Franco fascists) in elections for leadership of the students' union. Previously the Franco dictatorship also showed itself to be without student support at the University of Barcelona. Despite arrests of opposition leaders, the revolt has continued to grow in the university districts.

Already in 1951, a general strike in Barcelona over bus-fare increases showed that the Spanish working class had recovered from the defeat inflicted by the fascists in the Civil War of 1936-37. The Franco regime survived the Barcelona strike by means of repressions. But judging from developments during the last months, police measures have now lost their effectiveness. The Spanish working people are placing the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship on the agenda.

READY TO STRUGGLE

Referring to an earlier manifestation this year of the Spanish people's readiness to struggle, the Jan. 9 Militant said: **"Throughout the world this report of the indomitable revolutionary temper of the Spanish people will be joyfully received by all those fighting to eliminate capitalist oppression. By the same token it comes as the worst kind of news for the focal point of world reaction — the American capitalist class and its government. . . . The U.S. government has poured millions of dollars into a desperate effort to maintain the 'stability' of Franco's hated regime. . . The report from Madrid constitutes due notice that Wall Street's reactionary efforts, in this case as in many others, is headed down the drain."**

. . . CEYLON TROTSKYISTS

(Continued from page 1)

Peoples Front is a Buddhist party, led mostly by monks, and using a name which translates to "Language Front." As its name indicates its main plank is to make Sinhalese the country's only official language despite the fact that only 70% of the population is Sinhalese.

The third component of the United Peoples Front has regularly been described in the capitalist press of the U.S. and Great Britain as a "Trotskyist party." This is incorrect. Known in Ceylon politics as the Philip Gunawardene group, it is a small political formation grouped about Gunawardene, who many years ago split off from the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Since then his group departed from Trotskyism onto the twisting road of opportunism. Among other things he collaborated with the Ceylonese Stalinists and accepted an official invitation to tour the Soviet Union. During the recent wave of communalism which turned Sinhalese worker against Tamil, religion against religion, and caste against caste, his group bowed to the pressure. Now it has ended up in a coalition with a liberal capitalist party with a reactionary stand on the vital language question.

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

It must be emphasized that the real Trotskyist party of this Asian island was not part of the United Peoples Front but ran independently and has emerged as the main opposition party. Its program was one of class struggle and unswerving opposition to the reactionary communalist frenzy. The LSSP fortitude in bucking both Sinhalese and Tamil chauvinists, who would force their language on one another or partition the country into separate nations has been the principal factor in the abatement of the frenzy.

The LSSP stood for abolition of English as the official language since that is the language imposed on the country by the former British rulers and is spoken only by the small upper class and sections of the middle class with formal education. Instead of "Sinhalese only," it called for making both Sinhalese and Tamil official languages with equal status.

LSSP speeches and papers hammered on the theme that unemployment meant the same in both languages, that the price of food was no lower whether it was asked for in Sinhalese or Tamil, that it was the socialist duty of the Sinhalese majority (70%) to respect Tamil minority rights, as it was the Tamil workers' duty to reject chauvinist plans of secession to join India. The LSSP's long and heroic record of struggle against imperialism, its yeoman work in organizing unions and fighting for the welfare of the peasants, its well-remembered role as leader of the great Hartal of 1953 (see book review on this page), as well as its able campaigning served to bring the workers of both nationalities to their senses.

Though Ceylon is a small country — it is almost as big as Ireland and has three times as much population — it is strategically and politically important. Its complete rejection of Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala, the darling of U.S. and British imperialism, has already had a profound influence in Asia. Kotelawala was denounced during the campaign for his role at the Bandung Conference where he served U.S. imperialism by his attacks on Communist China. Secretary of State Dulles tried to build up Kotelawala's prestige by visiting Ceylon in the midst of the election campaign. The visit probably cost Kotelawala even more votes.

Indicative of Wall Street's reaction to the election was the New York Times editorial of April 8, after the first day's voting indicated the landslide. Entitled "setback in Ceylon," it began: "We may as well face the unpleasant facts in the case. We cannot greet the election return from Ceylon, at this point, with anything short of dismay." A news story in the same issue of the N. Y. Times correctly predicted: "Today's polling threatened to push the Government party even out of second place. The Trotskyite Ceylon Equality party [LSSP] won five more seats and its total stood at nine. . . The second most important politician in the country now may be Dr. N. M. Perera, the Trotskyite leader, and former mayor of Colombo."

Communalism, as the Hindu-Moslem riots in India have so tragically demonstrated, is the greatest threat to the progress of the workers and peasants of Asia. The LSSP's principled stand for solidarity of all peoples and national minorities' rights can best be appreciated when the communalist wave which threatened to engulf Ceylon is described.

Kotelawala called the elections when the communalist frenzy was at its height in the hope of riding back to power on the "Sinhalese-only" issue. Both his UNP and the United Peoples Front tried to make language and religion main issues. There were threats to send the Tamils "back to India," to refuse them jobs, prevent them from buying land. Moreover capitalist elements among the Tamil minority responded with threats of secession. The LSSP, which has long been attacked as anti-Buddhist and irreligious, was denounced as a party of Tamil-lovers. The LSSP not only stuck to principle and helped abate the frenzy but was vindicated at the polls.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Nothing but enthusiastic reports have been coming in from all over the country on the excellent articles being printed in **The Militant.**

Ruth Aaron says: **"San Francisco** and **Oakland** have really been pitching recently. Last week four of us sold 21 papers on the streets of a working class area. Last Sunday at a meeting in Oakland called by the Ministerial Alliance together with the NAACP a total of 232 **Militants** and 87 Desegregation pamphlets were sold by ten people. **Frank B.** was tops with the sale of 55 papers, and **Bill Morgan** headed the pamphlet sellers with a total of 35. The meeting was called in solidarity with the Alabama bus boycott. We got a terrific response to both the paper and the pamphlet."

Howard Mayhew writes from **Chicago** that everyone there is delighted with the exceedingly fine quality of the recent issues. They have been doing well enough in that city to have sent rush orders for 500 copies of one issue, and a thousand of another.

Here in **New York, John Tabor** reports that "300 papers were sold at the Manhattan Center meeting. The spirit of Montgomery seemed to be lacking here. However, E. D. Nixon was given the most applause because he was the symbol of struggle."

Los Angeles "sold 554 copies of the March 19 issue with 24 salespeople, three of whom were tops. The work that had been done on street sales and other meetings showed up here. Many people knew **The Militant** and were pleased to see us. We were asked to sell the paper to one of the trade unions. We are all pleased as Punch with the results."

From Seattle Helen Baker writes: "The bundle arrived in plenty of time to cover the meeting. **Nell McGrew** and I sold thirteen on the street before the meeting and 20 in our regular Sunday work. **Ann Martin** sold a total of 24, I sold 17."

"Last week-end 140 copies of the March 19 issue were sold in front of churches and union meetings," writes **John Collins** from **Detroit.** "360 copies were distributed on Wayne University campus."

Winifred Nelson writes from the **Twin Cities:** "Our sales of the March 19 issue of **The Militant** seem really impressive to us and not a small part of it was the wonderful eye-witness account of the Montgomery Improvement Ass'n. meeting that William Bundy wrote about so movingly. It was an impressive account of an impressive meeting of a group that is making history — and this stirred the salesmen who sold, as well as the people we sold to. Seven of us at four churches in St. Paul and Minneapolis sold a total of 105. The reaction was very good. One old man said: 'I know all about what's going on in Montgomery but when your people are helping my people, I want to help you.' While some of us were at the churches others were knocking at doors in neighborhood work, selling 97 this way. Another 42 were sold in the shops and union. Altogether we sold a total of 265."

"All of us here were very glad to see Cannon's speech on the death of the Stalin cult printed in **The Militant,** and all of the other stories on the same topic."

When the Storm Broke in Ceylon

HARTAL! By Colvin R. de Silva. Ceylon. 20 pp. 15 cents. American distributors: Pioneer Publishers.

The masses of Ceylon, to the dismay of the U.S. State Department, have just kicked out of office the capitalist United National Party in a landslide election. A principal agent in the debacle of the UNP was the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), which has emerged from the election as the country's second party and leading representative of the working class.

The American reader has no better way of understanding the recent election and the continuously unfolding social revolution in Ceylon than by reading the pamphlet "Hartal!" The author, Colvin R. de Silva, is a founder and leader of the LSSP. During World War II he was imprisoned by the British for his unyielding demands for Ceylon's independence and denunciation of the imperialist slaughter. He and other LSSP leaders made a dramatic escape from prison and carried on their revolutionary work from India. After the war he, with other LSSP leaders were elected to Ceylon's parliament. There, as well as in the struggle to unionize workers and educate them to socialism, he has done brilliant work. In August 1953, on the LSSP general staff, he helped lead the hartal — the greatest class battle the Asian island has yet seen.

DIRECT CONNECTION

The direct connection of the hartal with last week's momentous elections is stated in the pamphlet's opening paragraph: "The vast upsurge of the masses which August 12th witnessed in village and town together, represented nothing less than an active vote of no-confidence in the UNP government and a demand that it should resign immediately. It was a notice served on the UNP government that the people could tolerate it no longer."

The capitalist United National Party, backed by British and U.S. imperialism, tried to cheat history but succeeded only for a year and a half. The police repressions and reprisals and all the political tricks and bribery served only to reinforce the people of Ceylon in the resounding verdict they had given in the 1953 hartal—out with the UNP government. Last week's election was but a formal registering on ballots of what the masses had demonstrated physically a year before—out with the UNP government.

Hartal is an Indian word meaning non-cooperation. But if anyone has been misled by pacifist and Quaker wishful thinking into believing that this method of struggle developed by the masses of Asia is passive or pacifistic, a reading of "Hartal," will soon disabuse him. Among workers the equivalent of the hartal is the general strike. And in Ceylon's hartal, the working class shut down the factories and workshops and prevented scabs from going in. But in Asian countries there are great masses of small peasants, shopkeepers, etc. These and other elements—unemployed, students, housewives and others without unions—participate by engaging in the hartal.

The hartal means a cessation of all work and transportation as a means of political protest. Those engaged in the hartal stop trains and buses—by pacific means, if possible, by fighting back, if attacked by scabs, police or troops.

Asian hartalists do not turn the other cheek, but defend themselves militantly. In Ceylon the fighting reached almost insurrectionary heights in many parts of the island.

The great hartal was precipitated by the deceit of the capitalist UNP which had held office since the country achieved political independence. Shortly before, the UNP had won the general elections on a program of promises it had no intention of keeping. On the contrary, it tried to solve the problem of the country's creaking capitalist economy at the expense of the poor. Food and clothing prices were increased, the rice ration cut, the free lunch and milk program for school children was abolished, the price of rice was increased from 25 to 70 cents a measure.

STORM BREAKS

Then the storm broke. All classes, except the native capitalists, and all races, castes, and religions, except the white foreigners, were drawn into the hartal.

This pamphlet not only describes the course of the hartal, how the UNP cabinet hiding out on a British warship in Colombo harbor, tried to master it with martial law, but how the LSSP succeeded in forging a united front of all working class parties and unions to sponsor the great struggle.

The recent election results bear out the conclusions reached in 1953 by the author, a few samples of which follow:

"Thus on August 12th a new factor reentered our politics. This is the factor of direct mass intervention in the political arena; itself the basic factor in the revolutionary process. Our politics can never be the same as before. The sense of mass power generated in the masses themselves as well as in their opponents ensures this . . .

"But the UNP government has been struck a blow from which it can never recover. August 12th not only set it reeling but also shattered its moral basis. August 12th also narrowed its mass base irreparably."

Pamphlets About Ceylon

Recent Publications of the LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY

Hartal! (The story of the 1953 general strike) by Colvin R. de Silva — 15 cents

The Differences Between Trotskyism and Stalinism by Leslie Goonewardene — 25 cents

The Crisis of Local Government by Edmund Samarakkody — 10 cents

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Will Eisenhower Send U. S. Troops?

Current administration moves in relation to the Middle East crisis are loaded with deceit and fraud against the American people. Washington is attempting to jockey the country into a position where it can again be plunged into war against the will of the people.

Secretary of State Dulles announced April 3 that "in an emergency in the Middle East" U.S. forces might be sent into action without Congressional authority. The next day President Eisenhower gave solemn "assurance" that he would never commit U.S. troops to war without consent of Congress.

Eisenhower's statement was motivated by the knowledge that U.S. public opinion, with the memory of Korea still fresh is deeply opposed to any more "police actions." He was attempting to placate anti-war sentiment while laying the groundwork to thwart it.

Carefully inserted in his statement was a loophole big enough to drive a tank through. "There are times," he explained, "when troops, to defend themselves, may have to, you might say, undertake local warlike acts. . ."

With the Sixth Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean and an additional 1,800 marines recently dispatched there, it would not require much conniving to deliberately put them in a position where they would have to "defend themselves."

In a new policy statement, April 9, Eisenhower announced that the U.S. was prepared to "resist aggression" in the Middle East. Again he assured that this would be done "within Constitutional means."

The next day Dulles met with the congressional leaders of both parties on the issue. After the meeting it was reported that the administration would not ask Congress for troop action **now**. But, it was explained, if the crisis continues, as it probably will, the President must not be left with his hands tied when Congress adjourns in July. Therefore, the President would most likely have to request from Congress before it adjourns a pre-dated authorization to use troops at his discretion.

To cut through these maneuvers, the American people must demand two things. First, the pretext for war based on an "attack" on American troops must be eliminated. And it can be done by simply withdrawing all U.S. troops from foreign soil. Such a move would be welcomed by the people of the occupied countries, the troops themselves and would reduce the war danger.

Secondly, even if the Administration decides not to move without authorization from Congress, this is far from any guarantee that peace is assured.

Congress approved Truman's illegal Korean "police action" without a murmur. Last year it granted Eisenhower a blank check to declare war on China if Formosa is "attacked." It is not likely to demur in granting the same dangerous power in the explosive Middle East crisis.

To curb the war-makers, the American people should demand that the war-making power be taken out of the hands of the capitalist politicians and that the people themselves shall have the right to vote, by popular referendum, on the questions of war and peace.

No Gain for Capitalism

The highly political Big Business oracle, the New York Times, has been straining to construe the Kremlin's recent repudiation of the Stalin cult as some kind of victory of capitalism over socialism.

During the period of the rise of Stalin and his bloody campaign against the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition headed by Leon Trotsky, the capitalist-class-conscious Times made sure to send correspondents to Russia who always favored Stalin as against the revolutionary internationalists.

Now that the heirs of Stalin have been forced by the new revolutionary mood of the Russian working class to disown the murderer of revolutionists and the betrayer of revolutions, the editors of the Times hope to extract something useful for capitalism out of the situation.

They are barking up the wrong tree. And what's more, they know it, and therefore they don't have their hearts in the project. In an editorial April 6 they say: "The Soviet people are asking the same questions that people all over the world are asking." And among these questions they list: "Is there not something basically rotten and corrupt with a system in which Stalinism could come to flower?"

The Times would have been more accurate, not to say honest, if they admitted they **hoped** this was a question the Soviet people would ask. Actually, all the evidence shows that the Soviet people have decided irrevocably that they are opposed to capitalism and in favor of socialism. And the rise of an anti-Stalinist revolutionary movement of the Russian workers, which in its initial stirring has already forced concession after concession from the bureaucratic ruling caste, including the repudiation of Stalin, in no way beclouds the position of the Soviet working class on this question of capitalism and socialism.

What better demonstration of this could be asked than the anti-Stalinist uprising of the Soviet East German workers in June 1953? It was a brilliant and powerful attack on the Stalinist bureaucracy. But it didn't yield an inch to Western capitalism. And as it turned out there was absolutely no profit in it for the capitalists.

No. The Russian workers, as well as the workers of Eastern Europe are not interested in going back to capitalism. They conduct a fight against the corruption and rottenness of bureaucracy in the same spirit as workers in capitalist countries fight their union bureaucracy — with no thought of returning to open-shop slavery.

As a matter of fact, the new vigor and revolutionary energy of the Soviet masses, which alone explains the retreats and maneuvers of the Khrushchevs and Bulganins, arises in great part from the anti-capitalist revolutionary tide that has risen since World War II. At the same time, the new stage of the revolution in Russia, now opening, will strike staggering blows at the world capitalist system. It will infuse the revolutionary masses of Europe and Asia and the class-conscious vanguard of the international working class with new hope and courage.

So, our advice to the Times is to stop wasting its time looking for something good for capitalism out of the death of the Stalin cult. There's nothing there for them.

Dulles' Kiss of Death

The mortality rate of Asian prime ministers who become too closely identified as "friends" of the American State Department is rising. The latest, but by no means the last, is the recently ousted prime minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala.

In an editorial published in The Militant, Dec. 13, 1954, entitled, "Parade of Prime Ministers," we reported the visit to Washington of dignitaries seeking aid in exchange for their support of American imperialist foreign policy. They were: (1) Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan — he had to cut short his visit and hurry back in a futile attempt to head off a palace revolution against him. (2) Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, ousted from office following his junket to Washington, and (3) Sir John Kotelawala.

Despite the weight of evidence against it, Sir John believed he could use American dollars to bolster his waning prestige with the people of Ceylon. He was prepared to pay Washington's price for American aid and was ready to utilize every opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to Anglo-American imperialism. His "good will" trip to Washington in Dec. 1954 was intended to prove that he could be depended upon in a pinch.

At the Bandung conference in 1955 he carried the ball against Red China and "Communism." He refused to allow entree to China's diplomats and even went so far as to deny entree to Soviet astronomers who wanted to observe an eclipse of the sun.

These efforts did not go unappreciated. When the election campaign began, Secretary of State Dulles made it a point to make a "good will" visit to Ceylon and to promise some U.S. financial aid. Both Dulles and Kotelawala believed this would cinch the U.N.P. campaign.

Just the opposite happened. The Ceylonese judged the Dulles visit as an ominous sign of their becoming involved in some more of his "brink of war" plans. Their reaction to imperialism is no different from that of the rest of the masses of Asia. They want no part of Wall Street's design to keep the colonial countries from achieving their independence. They figured that they would have to pay for any deals Sir John concluded with Dulles.

The colonial peoples are on the road to independence and will not be stopped. Every attempt of the imperialists to hinder them is met by immediate hostility. Dulles' visit to Ceylon proved to be not a boost to Kotelawala but a kiss of death.

The Real Question Facing Ranks of the CP

By Morris Stein

Communist Party spokesmen have been casting about frantically for plausible answers to the many embarrassing questions the ranks are insistently asking. Party members demand to know above all how this monstrous Stalin cult came into being, why it flourished so long, what their leaders had done to combat it.

In last week's **Militant** I dealt with one answer George Morris gives in the **Daily Worker**. He borrows from the Trotskyists the analogy between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the trade union bureaucracy. Morris then mutilates this analogy by depicting both, not as the product of social environment, but as the aberration of individuals, especially as they grow old.

By this method, George Morris seeks to conceal the existing social conflict between the bureaucracy using its control of the state to safeguard and extend its power and privileges, and the Soviet masses struggling to rid themselves of their parasitic oppressors.

THE STALIN CULT

Heretofore, the Stalinists have sought to conceal the existence of the Soviet bureaucracy by means of the Stalin cult. They tried to reduce all political life in the Soviet Union to the simple equation: Stalin is the Soviet Union. Anyone against Stalin was pilloried as an enemy of the Soviet Union. Every critic of Stalin's brutal rule was stigmatized as anti-Soviet. A mere whisper against the oppressive bureaucracy was considered an act of high treason.

The Stalin cult is now taboo. The 20th Congress declared that the cult of the individual is alien to Marxism-Leninism. That is true. Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the working class in its struggle for socialism. As the only class hostile to all forms of inequality and oppression, the working class can construct a socialist society. But it can do so only through the most complete democratic participation in industrial and political life.

The Marxist party expresses these interests. It never seeks to substitute itself for the class either before or after a revolution. After the October 1917 revolution the Bolshevik Party and its leadership inspired and educated the working class to discharge its responsibility as the ruling class until such time as class society would become outlived and the state wither away. The Stalin bureaucracy usurped the political power, destroyed Lenin's Bolshevik Party, and substituted the leader cult.

The ideology of the leader cult is bourgeois. It is the ideology of a privileged minority seeking to immobilize the working class as a political force and to substitute its own interests for the interests of the working class.

ALIEN TO MARXISM

In other words, the Stalin cult is alien to Marxism-Leninism and is bourgeois, precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy is alien to the working class and is instead the bearer of bourgeois privileges within the Soviet Union. Anyone who consciously or otherwise supported the Stalin cult by that fact placed himself in the service of the bureaucracy against the interests of the Soviet people and against the interests of the world working class.

The attempt by George Morris and others to explain the Stalin cult as the mistake or excess of an individual is just as alien to Marxist ideology as the cult itself. This method of explanation is also borrowed from the ideologists of the capitalist class. The men-of-good-will concept of politics is the method by which the bourgeoisie seeks to conceal its class rule and deceive the masses into supporting one capitalist politician as against another. This is one of the methods by which the American workers are prevented from building their own class party.

It is no accident that the American CP has at one and the same time been an integral part of the Stalinist as well as of the capitalist confidence game. In the U. S. they have long ago abandoned any pretense of pursuing a consistent class struggle line. On the contrary. They have consistently supported one or another capitalist politician. Instead of promoting working class consciousness, they are promoting capitalist consciousness inside the working class via the Democratic Party.

To conceal the anti-working class nature of the bureaucracy is just as criminal as to conceal the anti-working class nature of the capitalist parties. With the Stalinists these two crimes go hand-in-hand.

THE REAL PROBLEM

Without understanding the material base of bureaucratism it is impossible to struggle effectively against it. In a trade union, one often encounters groups organized in opposition to an existing bureaucracy. Often such groups have as their sole platform substitution of more "honest" men, men of greater integrity for the incumbents. After election these "honest" men, these men of "integrity" turn out to be no different than their predecessors. Why? Because the problem of bureaucratism is not resolved by replacing one bureaucrat for another, but by replacing bureaucratic rule with workers' rule.

The real question facing the worker members of the Communist Party is not how good an explanation one or another of their leaders can think up in "explaining" the Stalin cult, but what they propose in its place. Are they for Lenin's dictum that every cook must learn how to govern — an aphorism intended to emphasize the principle that power must reside in the working class itself — or are they attacking the Stalin cult only to justify some other form of bureaucratic rule?

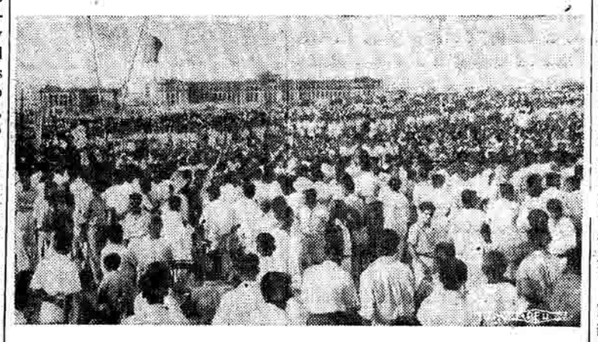
The Communist Party members, taught to believe that Stalin and the Soviet Union were an identity, that they were one and the same thing, have been shocked and confused by the repudiation of the Stalin cult at the 20th Congress. They face even more profound shocks in the future. The Soviet workers, once helpless before the power of the bureaucracy, have grown greatly in numbers, in culture, in self-assurance. They are through being the object of the bureaucracy's politics. They are struggling to enter the political arena in their own name and in their own behalf.

When Stalin's successors denounce the Stalin cult, they do it to maintain themselves in power. The Soviet workers will not be satisfied with this limited concession. The repudiation of the Stalin cult can only be the opening phase of a struggle which will lead to the definitive defeat of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union and the victory of the Soviet workers.

The worker members of the Communist Party must ask: Does George Morris and his kind show them how to link their struggle as socialists with that of the Soviet masses, or do the CP leaders continue to try to exploit their socialist aspirations in behalf of a self-seeking bureaucracy alien to socialism. The overwhelming evidence is that George Morris and Co. remain unreconstructed.

But the worker members are searching for answers that the time-servers of the Kremlin bureaucracy are unable to provide. These answers are available. They can be found in the exhaustive Marxist analyses contained in the writings of Leon Trotsky.

Rally of Ceylon Trotskyist Party



A crowd of 30,000 turn out to a rally of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyist) in Ceylon. In recent elections the pro-Wall St. Prime Minister was thrown out and a neutralist coalition brought to office. The LSSP, running independently, made great gains and became the country's second biggest party.

...Why Lenin Asked Trotsky's Aid

(Continued from page 1)

returned to work with his health undermined, Lenin applied himself to the entire problem of leadership. This accounts for the conversation with me. Hence, too, the Will. Its last lines were written on January 4. After that, two more months passed during which the situation took definite shape.

Lenin was now preparing not only to remove Stalin from his post of general secretary, but to disqualify him before the party as well. On the question of monopoly of foreign trade, on the national question, on questions of the regime in the party, of the worker-peasant inspection, and of the commission of control, he was systematically preparing to deliver at the twelfth congress a crushing blow at Stalin as personifying bureaucracy, the mutual shielding among officials, arbitrary rule and general rudeness.

Would Lenin have been able to carry out the regrouping in the party direction that he planned? At that moment, he undoubtedly would. There had been several precedents for it, and one of them was quite fresh in mind and significant. In November, 1922, while Lenin was still convalescent and living in the country, and while I was absent from Moscow, the Central Committee unanimously adopted a decision that dealt an irreparable blow at the monopoly of foreign trade.

Both Lenin and I sounded the alarm, independently of each other and then wrote to each other and co-ordinated our action. A few weeks later, the Central Committee revoked its decision as unanimously as it had adopted it. On December 21, Lenin wrote triumphantly to me: "Comrade Trotsky, it seems that we have managed to capture the position without a single shot, by a mere maneuver. I suggest that we do not stop but press the attack."

COULD TROTSKY WIN?

Our joint action against the Central Committee at the beginning of 1923 would without a shadow of a doubt have brought us victory. And what is more, I have no doubt that if I had come forward on the eve of the twelfth congress in the spirit of a "bloc of Lenin and Trotsky" against the Stalin bureaucracy, I should have been victorious even if Lenin had taken no direct part in the struggle.

How solid the victory would have been is, of course, another question. To decide that, one must take into account a number of objective processes in the country, in the working class, and in the party itself. That is a separate and large theme.

Lenin's wife said in 1927 that if he had been alive he would probably have been doing time in a Stalin prison. I think she was right. For the thing that matters is not Stalin, but the forces that he expresses without even realizing it.

In 1922-23, however, it was still possible to capture the commanding position by an open attack on the faction then rapidly being formed of national socialist officials, of usurpers of the apparatus, of the unlawful heirs of October, of the epigones of Bolshevism. The chief obstacle was Lenin's condition. He was expected to rise again as he had after his first stroke and to take part in the twelfth congress as he had in the eleventh. He himself hoped for this. The doctors spoke encouragingly, though with dwindling assurance.

The idea of a "bloc of Lenin and Trotsky" against the apparatus-men and bureaucrats was at that time fully known only to Lenin and me, although the other members of the Politbureau dimly suspected it. Lenin's letters on the national question and his Will remained unknown. Independent action on my part would have been interpreted, or, to be more exact, represented as my personal fight for Lenin's place in the party and the state. The very thought of this made me shudder. I considered that it would have brought such a demoralization in our ranks that we would have had to pay too painful a price for it even in case of victory.

LENIN'S ROLE

In all plans and calculations, there remained the positive element of uncertainty—Lenin and his physical condition. Would he be able to state his own views? Would he still have time? Would the party understand that it was a case of a fight by Lenin and Trotsky for the future of the revolution, and not a fight by Trotsky for the place held by Lenin, who was ill?

Because of Lenin's exceptional position in the party, the uncertainty of his personal condition became the uncertainty of the condition of the entire party. The indefinite situation was being prolonged. And the delay simply played into the hands of epigones, since Stalin, as general secretary, became the major-domo of the apparatus for the entire period of the interregnum.

It was the beginning of March, 1923. Lenin was lying in his room in the huge building of the courts of justice. The second stroke was near; it was preceded by a series of lesser shocks. I spent several weeks in bed with lumbago in the former Kavalersky building, where we had our apartment, and was separated from Lenin by the enormous courtyard of the Kremlin. Neither Lenin nor I could reach the telephone; furthermore, the doctors strictly forbade Lenin to hold any telephone conversations.

[To be Continued]

...Text of Will

(Continued from page 1)

has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communications, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities — personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee — but also by his far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Bukharin and Pyatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest) and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never has fully understood, the dialectic).

And then Pyatakov — a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to administration and the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view to the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.

December 25, 1922

Postcript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority — namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

January 4, 1923 **Lenin**

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Stalin himself was forced at the October 1927 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to admit the existence of Lenin's last warning. He read aloud the postscript designating the General Secretary as "too rude" and proposing to remove him from his post. "Yes, comrades," said Stalin, "I am rude towards those who are rudely and disloyally destroying and disintegrating the Party. I have never made a secret of it and shall not do so now." But Stalin soon decided to make a secret of Lenin's last testament. He refused to publish it, putting it instead on the list of forbidden reading for rank-and-file Stalinists.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1956 — NUMBER 16

The Negro Struggle

By Fred Hart

Uncle Toms Abroad

At the beginning of the capitalist era Sir John Wotton, a famous English diplomat, gave a definition which has lived in history. "An ambassador," he wrote, "is an honest man sent abroad to lie for his government." In our epoch we are seeing more and more Negroes sent abroad as official or unofficial "good will" ambassadors. This is because U.S. imperialism's propaganda that its foreign policy is motivated solely by the pure desire to spread democracy is disbelieved by foreigners who know about and abhor this country's undemocratic Jim Crow system.

While a foreign audience frankly disbelieves speeches of white "good will" ambassadors denying that U.S. Negroes are second-class citizens, the same denials from American Negro speakers carry more weight.

The New York Times and the Negro press has recently carried accounts of statements made in the Soviet Union by Negro Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME Church. In a speech to Russians, translated sentence by sentence, he said such things as, "U.S. Negroes lived as well as any other racial group," and, "The Supreme Court, the highest court in our land has made it possible for every Negro to attend school anywhere in the United States of America."

These statements are on a par with the infamous utterances of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the jackrabbit politician, at the Bandung Conference that Jim Crow was a thing of the past in the U.S. and instead of being a social stigma in the U.S. it was now a distinction to be a Negro.

Bishop Nichols was lying for "his" government at the expense of his people. For he surely knows what the census reveals if he hasn't understood what his eyes have seen. U.S. Negroes on the whole receive much lower pay than whites and have poorer jobs; Negro housing is predominantly overcrowded, overpriced, dilapidated, ghetto housing; Negroes, because of the lower standard of living forced on them and lack of equal medical attention, have shorter lives than other Americans.

While Bishop Nichols was saying that Negroes could now go to any school in the U.S., Miss Lucy was risking being lynched in her effort to enter Alabama University.

Public opinion against American Jim Crow is widespread in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is a powerful ally of the Negro people in their struggle for equal rights here at home. Any Negro — official, unofficial or self-appointed — who goes abroad to tell foreigners they are wrong to condemn American Jim Crow is scabbing against the Negro struggle just as much as if he were riding the buses in Montgomery.

For a Great Roar!

By Harry Ring

American labor is offered good food for thought in the April issue of The Educator, organ of the Mechanics Educational Society, AFL-CIO. A full column editorial, levels solid criticisms against the politics of the AFL-CIO offcialdom and spells out the need for a labor party.

Labor will be compelled by sheer necessity in the next few years to work out a full scale list of demands, the editorial points out. The very words "automation," "high prices," "Taft-Hartley," "Right-to-work laws" and a host of others indicate how true this is.

The Educator is on firm ground when it predicts: "Inevitably labor will not be satisfied with the limited support it will receive from the Democrats and with a loud fanfare of trumpets a Labor Party will be born."

The Educator is also looking ahead clearly when it points out "even this will be dangerous if Labor forms a Party without a program." The experience of the British Labor Party over the past decade, we think, demonstrates the correctness of the point.

In 1945 the British Labor Party was swept into office and had the chance to end the capitalist system of wage slavery. Eleven years later the English workers are still compelled to "pull in their belts" to maintain capitalist profits. This situation is a direct result of the fact that the conservative leadership of the party has fought all efforts to elaborate a genuine socialist program for the movement.

The Educator takes a hard-headed approach to the problem of leadership for the coming party. It explains, "With a clear cut radical program, calling for a complete change in our economy, a Labor Party would have a long, rough road before it and it would be difficult to visualize some of the fat cats of the big unions trampling along this rocky road."

Once the wheels are in motion, we don't think the job of the Labor Party will be extremely difficult. But there's no arguing that it would certainly be a rough haul for the "fat cats." For example, George Meany, who boasts that he's never walked on a picket line in his life, most likely wouldn't have the legs or stomach for the haul. But this isn't too big a problem. The odds are that once the ranks of labor get on that road they won't be looking to the Meany's to lead them.

Another article in the same issue of the Educator declares, "It is time to throw off the cloak of company unionism (in politics), to stand on our own feet. . . We of the M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO are ready — certainly we do not stand alone. President Meany has stated he hears no cry for a labor party. We say 'Let him hear it — Let him hear it with a great roar!'"

We vote for that and would like to submit an amendment that will help carry it out. Formation of an independent labor party and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government in the U.S. is the central plank in the platform of Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers ticket.

A significant vote for Dobbs will really add to the roar in Meany's ears.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

On the Soviet Union and Stalinism

"Is it normal that having lived almost 40 years after October we do not have either a brief or a complete Marxist-Leninist textbook on the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet state, which would show, without varnishing, not only the facade but the whole many-sided life of our Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan, First Deputy Prime Minister, at 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

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Dairy Farmers Strike

Strike leader Sam Bailo talks to dairy farmers in the Imlay City, Mich. area, who cut Detroit's milk supply to a trickle before an injunction ended the nine-day stoppage. Many trucks were overturned and gallons of milk were dumped by the farmers who struck for a raise in the price of milk to them from the creameries.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Takes Exception to Automation Article By Robert Chester

Editor:

If it were true that Automation did not represent a "Second Industrial Revolution" Robert Chester's arguments "Automation: New Industrial Revolution?" The Militant (March 26, 1956) by no means prove that point. In fact, several of his key statements lead to the opposite conclusion: "Automation . . . is the final stage of a process begun with the 'First' Industrial Revolution . . ." "Automation marks a new qualitative stage in the process of production." What Chester does prove is something quite different: that this New Industrial Revolution does not make capitalism progressive, does not give capitalism a new life, a new reason for going on. The confusion in this article is the result of a lack of clarity in terms, through which a sound argument is addressed to the wrong issue.

As a result of this approach, he seems to have equated the First Industrial Revolution with capitalism to the degree of making it a kind of alpha and omega of the capitalist epoch.

He mistakenly identifies automation with automaton. The term, automation, is often used in industry and engineering to indicate automaton-ism. This carelessness is due partly to ignorance and partly sales-bologna —a way of dumping fancy gadgetry into the tooling programs of naive manufacturers. Marxists, however, must make more careful distinctions.

The First Industrial Revolution is defined simply as that part of the capitalist process in which the muscular power of the worker was replaced with the mechanical application of power in a machine, a process in which the worker remains to supervise and control the individual stage of production as an appendage of the machine. This process evolved from the capitalist system of hand-tool manufacture.

Now, as Bob correctly states: "Automation marks a new qualitative stage in the process of production."

Automation — for want of a better term—produces a qualitatively new relationship between the productive process and the worker, a relationship fully as new, even more radical than the change effected by the First Industrial Revolution. From the standpoint of dialectic rigor, it would be intolerable to accept the First Industrial Revolution and deny the Second. At the same time, it is important to recognize that this emergent industrial revolution is suffering violent distortions and deformation because of the burden of dead capital and the capitalist property relationships in which it emerges. It is necessary to make a dialectical discrimination between the emergent form and the distortion imposed upon it.

The Second Industrial Revolution represents a process by which individual machines, factories are successively combined to form one machine—up to the point that the entire productive economy becomes "one machine." While the "final," "perfected" result is some time distant, the immediate possible results in this direction are no less than titanic. Their possibility is demonstrated by several principles:

(1) The application of "feedback" and other techniques to make machine-processes stable and even ultra-stable for an indefinite number of variables and indefinite degrees of variation.

(2) The ability to program these applications into increasingly "vast" and complex functions.

(3) The determination of the possibility of designing self-repairing, self-improving machine-complexes.

This Second Industrial Revolution, as it absorbs entire industries, will make meaningless the whole system of private ownership, as it requires destruction of the "lines" of private ownership of industry. The planning and construction of vast assemblies will make a pitiful, outworn joke of the capitalist banking and finance system and will require a socialist conception of credit and planning. The introduction of self-repair and self-improvement will reduce the amount of socially necessary labor power to the point that an economy based on a system of use-values must arise. The program of the Second Industrial Revolution is the Industrial Program of the Socialist Revolution.

A Second Industrial Revolution has begun to emerge in the final phase of the capitalist epoch. Now, we are witnessing a desparate but futile attempt by the capitalist machine to control this revolution, to "tame" it to capitalist ends. The task of the socialist is, first, to understand this Second Industrial Revolution in its historical perspective. Second, to explain the contradictions between it and its capitalist environment. Third, to explain its role in the Industrial Program of the Socialist Revolution.

L. M.
New York

* * *

Answer to Problem Of South Is Found In The Militant

Editor:

The first thirty-five years of my life were spent mostly in the South. I developed into a class conscious worker and something of a socialist under typical southern conditions. I have felt for a long time that socialism was the only answer to the problems of the South, but my mind has always been filled with too many questions and too few answers when I thought about southern problems. The atmosphere is so different from anything else I have ever seen or read about.

Late issues of The Militant have been supplying the answers I have long looked for. Keep up the great work.

R. C.
St. Louis

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Michigan Farmers Gain In Militant Milk Strike

By William Bundy

The discontent of the small farmers has taken militant organizational form in Michigan and resulted in a milk strike here which was more successful than almost anyone expected it to be.

Milk is one of the few major agricultural commodities that is still produced largely by small independent farmers. Practically all of the 1,300 milk producing farmers in the Detroit milk shed belong to a marketing organization called the Michigan Milk Producers Association. This outfit operates the receiving stations which take milk from the farmers and distribute it to the large dairies in the cities.

The MMPA is supposed to be a cooperative organization owned by its farmer members. Actually the farmers claim that it is a "company union" controlled by the rich farmers and the dairies. Said one farmer: "We are supposed to get about $4.41 per hundredweight for fluid milk, but by the time the MMPA takes its cut we end up with around $3.75. Then, too, we don't get the full price for all our milk. The MMPA decides how much of our milk is surplus and pays us less for that part of it. We have to pay income tax on the 'share' of the MMPA that we are supposed to own, but we never get any dividends."

STRIKE IS CALLED

The milk strike was called by a rebel group called the Fair Share Bargaining Association which was formed last September. Its most prominent leader is Homer Martin, ex-president of the UAW. Martin now operates a small farm outside of Detroit and holds the position of "advisor" in the FSBA.

On Sunday, March 26, the FSBA announced that it would picket two major dairies in Detroit and asked all farmers to withhold milk from sale to the affected plants. The two plants, Borden and Ira Wilsons and Sons Dairy Co. were probably chosen because they are each organized by one of the two major unions in the industry, the Teamsters and the CIO United Dairy Workers. The FSBA appealed for help from the labor movement in its strike. It demanded $6.50 per hundredweight.

Monday morning hundreds of farmers showed up in front of the struck plants. The response was beyond the expectations even of the FSBA leaders. The strike quickly spread to the other dairies. Pickets were dispatched from the FSBA office on the outskirts of Detroit. Farmers from all over the state telephoned in to find out what they could do in the strike. Their participation varied from simply not allowing any milk to leave their farm to battling police and MMPA strikebreakers on the highways. Many of the farmers stayed up for days at a time, rushing from one trouble spot to another, stopping milk trucks, and picketing plants.

The main MMPA receiving station was completely controlled by FSBA pickets at the high point of the strike.

Teamsters and UDW officials conferred with FSBA leaders but gave no real support to the embattled farmers. A few UAW locals voted moral support to the strike, and some UAW men were seen on the picket lines, but the union leadership followed a hands off policy. Where picket lines were strongest, both AFL and CIO drivers refused on their own to cross the lines, but union plant workers and delivery men continued to work on orders from their leaders.

George McLean, secretary treasurer of the CIO Milk Drivers Local 83 summed up the attitude of the bureaucrats in a statement Tuesday, March 27: "The farmers are not members of an organized labor organization. Our members cannot violate their contracts by refusing to cross picket lines put up by people not directly connected with the company."

Said one young farmer on the picket line in front of Borden's Detroit plant: "If that's the labor movement, I'm disgusted with it. Reuther runs all over the place making speeches about how the labor movement is the friend of the farmer and when it comes to the time when he can show it, he lets CIO drivers cross our picket lines."

Said another: "We got moral support from the Teamsters but that's all. The guys in there (he pointed to the dairy) are with us; they tell us so, but they can't do anything without the union's ok. If the labor movement would really help us, this thing would be over in 24 hours."

STRIKE EFFECTIVE

In spite of the failure of the labor bureaucrats, the strike was effective. The MMPA meeting in convention during the week was forced to threaten a strike in its own name demanding $5 a hundredweight. By Friday, March 30, the major dairies had granted the $5 demand. The FSBA properly claimed — and got — credit for the increase, but continued the strike and the demand for $6.50.

Over the weekend, the state police escorted large numbers of milk tankers into Detroit (in spite of the promise of Democratic Governor Williams that state troopers would not be used as strikebreakers). On Monday, April 2, after the FSBA blockade had been broken at a crucial point by police and 500 specially recruited MMPA "supporters," the FSBA called off the picketing.

Many of the farmers were in tears as they broke up their picket lines. A meeting was called for that night in Brighton, about 40 miles from Detroit.

That night the streets of Brighton were filled with farmers' cars. On some were chalked the words: "Fair Share!" and "On Strike!" In front of the American Legion hall where the meeting was to be held a sound truck blared the song "16 Tons." Inside the hall there was standing room only.

SURPRISED WORLD

"You've surprised the world, the state of Michigan, and even yourselves," said FSBA president Roland Brengle as he opened the meeting. "The $5 is entirely due to your efforts." The crowd cheered assent. "Today we laid the groundwork . . . the FSBA is going to be here from now on . . . We are going to get out publications . . . next time we take action we'll be well organized."

In the audience two teen-age farm boys nodded to each other at this. Said one: "They never would have got a truck through here if we'd have been a little better organized. We were walking over those deputies for a while."

Leo Van Born, chairman of the strike committee spoke. "Our objective is a contract. Collective bargaining is our primary purpose. It is not a lost cause because I know you are here to support further action." Cheers.

Homer Martin was the main speaker. He outlined plans for building a national dairy farmers organization. "You'll be lost if you don't organize. This is the last stand of the small farmer. Let's call it what it is. People call what you did 'economic action.' Well, it looked like a strike to me; I'm going to call it just that—a strike!"

Martin spoke very long. Said one white-haired farmer to his companions: "That always was his trouble. He doesn't know when to shut up. I think that's why they kicked him out of the CIO."

Martin ended the meeting with a prayer. A collection was taken up (the FSBA has no dues yet), and people passed out of the hall. They were in a serious and questioning mood. Said one young man: "Well, I guess we ain't dead yet."

"Do you think they'll get anywhere?" asked another. "Well, something's got to be done," someone answered. "I'm not exactly for unions, but something's got to be done. I'd feel a lot better about it if we'd got some help from Detroit."

...GOP Baits Hook

(Continued from page 1)

"true" friends of the Negro people.

Phony and cynical as the administration maneuver is, there is no question but that it will further damage the Democratic Party which is already in deep crisis over the civil rights issue.

The Eisenhower proposals are neither deep-going or new nor intended to prevent recurrence of the Till lynching or the Miss Lucy case. Specifically they call for: 1) creation of a six-man bi-partisan commission with subpoena power to investigate allegations that Negroes are being deprived of the right to vote and are suffering unwarranted economic pressure; 2) making the present civil rights section of the Department of Justice into a division with its head an assistant attorney general; 3) broadening the present law forbidding interference with the right to vote and making such interference subject to civil suits by the injured party or the Attorney General in federal courts.

How good are these proposals? Since there have been no civil rights laws passed by Democrats or Republicans in the last 80 years, any proposal may look good to some people. Actually they represent a retreat from the civil rights program the Negro and labor movements have been advocating for the last two decades. Let's examine them one by one.

First is the proposal for a new study commission. Though unlike previous committees and commissions it would have subpoena power for its investigation, it would nonetheless be limited to studying "allegations" and making a report within two years. Everybody in the country knows that Negroes in Mississippi and other parts of the South are being prevented from voting. The need is not for "study" of this but for action to stop it. Even present laws would permit the administration to take some action if it wanted to, but it prefers to make demagogic election-year proposals instead.

Second, the present civil rights section of the Department of Justice would be made a division with its head an assistant to the Attorney General. This in itself would mean absolutely nothing except a few more jobs for some lawyers. Even the present civil rights section has had time to kill because Eisenhower's Attorney General (like Truman's) has never given it any real work or permission to go ahead. Instead of using existing civil rights laws, weak as they are, to intervene in the South the civil rights section has been used to figure out legal arguments for federal non-intervention.

ASK CIVIL SUITS

Proposal number three would broaden existing legislation which is supposed to guarantee the right to vote. The existing law provides for criminal penalties. Eisenhower proposes that civil suits also be allowed. This could mean asking for injunctions, damages, etc. Moreover, the present law applies only to interference by state officials and their agents. The new proposal would cover interference by anybody. Finally, suits could be instituted in federal court by the injured parties or the Attorney General before the case had gone through the state courts.

While some minor improvements in the present weak and inadequate law are proposed there is also a dangerous retreat from the principle that those preventing a person from voting should go to jail. In his accompanying letter to Congress, Attorney General Brownell wrote: "Today every interference with the right [to vote] should not necessarily be treated as a crime . . . Criminal cases in a field charged with emotion are extraordinarily difficult for all involved."

Should this proposal be made a law, it is possible to foresee, in view of the "enforcement" the capitalist parties have given civil rights laws heretofore, complete dropping of the criminal penalties and a system by which Southern counties "purchased" the right to prevent Negroes from voting by undergoing civil suits and paying a few fines and damages.

But the third proposal is not even intended to get to the floor of Congress. Senate Republican leader Knowland gave reporters the tip-off when he predicted that the first two proposals would get as far as a vote. The implication is clear — proposal number three will die in committee.

Under terrific pressure from the aroused Negro masses to do something about the blind alley into which 20 years of supporting the Democrats has got the civil rights fight, many Negro leaders will undoubtedly use Eisenhower's feeble and phony "program" as the excuse to declare for the Republicans. If so, they aid the game of making civil rights a political football. The only road is a break with both Jim Crow, Big Business parties.